

representatives in Congress; and certainly his right to vote will be protected if this amendment is ratified by a sufficient number of States and becomes part of the U.S. Constitution.

So, all of us are very much interested in having it ratified. No one has helped more in that connection than the Senator from Oregon.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, the Senator from Florida is quite correct when he says that all of us are very much interested in having the amendment ratified. Whenever exercise of the right to vote is made difficult of attainment by any citizen, of whatever color, full citizenship rights are denied him. So I believe it most important that every American citizen be given ample opportunity to exercise the precious right to cast a free ballot.

#### ACTIVITY OF CUBAN REFUGEES AND THEIR RECENT FORAYS AGAINST CUBA

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, events of recent days have brought to the fore a matter which has largely been ignored in this country, although it can cause painful consequences if it is ignored any longer. That is the activity of the Cuban refugees and their recent forays against Cuba.

Not much has been said about the fact that since the Castro government took power, some 250,000 Cubans have come to the United States, nearly all of them simply as guests of the United States. They are not here under immigration quotas, but are outside them. They are here in a form of asylum, despite the fact that it has never been a normal practice for the United States to receive political refugees, except as immigrants who have come to live here as permanent residents.

As noted in Hackworth's Digest of International Law—volume II, page 622: "The Government of the United States has strongly disapproved of the principle of asylum as such and has declined to recognize or subscribe to it as a part of international law."

Yet about 95 percent of the registered Cuban refugees over the past 2 years have entered this country under a visa waiver, and are on parole here.

The provision of law which authorizes such a proceeding is section 212(d) (5), which reads:

The Attorney General may in his discretion parole into the United States temporarily under such conditions as he may prescribe for emergency reasons or for reasons deemed strictly in the public interest any alien applying for admission to the United States, but such parole of such alien shall not be regarded as an admission of the alien and when the purposes of such parole shall, in the opinion of the Attorney General, have been served the alien shall forthwith return or be returned to the custody from which he was paroled and thereafter his case shall continue to be dealt with in the same manner as that of any other applicant for admission to the United States.

There appears in the same statute, the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952, the following provision, just a few para-

graphs after the provision I have already cited:

Whenever the President finds that the entry of any aliens or of any class of aliens into the United States would be detrimental to the interests of the United States, he may by proclamation, and for such period as he shall deem necessary, suspend the entry of all aliens or any class of aliens as immigrants or nonimmigrants, or impose on the entry of aliens any restrictions he may deem to be appropriate.

We know that the use of the mass parole provided by the 1952 act, although contrary to American practice, and quite unique in our history, was completely justified on humanitarian grounds alone.

We have done more than merely admit these people. Over three-quarters of them have sought and have received cash assistance. Thus far, the Federal Government has spent more than \$50 million in direct financial aid. The cost of medical care, educational benefits, and other items is not counted in that total. The current rate of grant assistance is running at about \$21½ million each month.

Because of the difficulties experienced in handling this sudden influx into the Miami area, over 50,000 refugees have resettled in other parts of the United States. Many of them have obtained jobs, with the help of the Federal Government.

Mr. President, I do not question for a moment the good faith of all the Cuban refugees. They have been grateful for our assistance, and in many cases, have repaid our financial help as soon as they were able to do so.

But it is also true that all of them are here on a temporary basis, under special regulation. Save for an early wholesale return to Cuba; their status in time will have to be regulated by special legislation by the U.S. Congress.

#### RESPONSIBILITIES OF CUBAN REFUGEES

While they are here, however, it is not amiss to remind them that they are expected to observe all the laws, and to respect the foreign policy objectives of the United States.

Nor is it for Cuban refugees to determine U.S. foreign policy. It is not for Cuban refugees to attempt to determine American foreign policy. It is for Cuban refugees never to forget for one moment that they are here as our guests. We are providing them with a sanctuary. We are providing them with protection. They are not in the United States with any rights, legally or morally, to use the territory of the United States for activities aimed at implicating American foreign policy in situations that might very well lead to war.

I wish to stress that point by way of digression, because I know that what I am now saying will not be music to some ears. The responsibility for American foreign policy rests with the American Government and not with Cuban refugees.

One of the most important, and most critical of these foreign policy objectives is the removal of the forces of the Soviet Union from the island of Cuba. The type of raid on Cuba which has been

carried on recently is certainly more of a display, built up by publicity and advertising, than a genuine assault on the Russo-Cuban armed forces in Cuba; it does nothing to hurt or diminish those forces. But it certainly gives the Russians a justification for remaining to protect Cuba.

Similarly, the raids give Castro justification for increasing his indigenous armed forces, and for taking sterner measures against the Cuban people.

Yet in neither case do the raids inflict any real damage or harm upon either the Castro forces or the Russians.

There is the even more important consideration that the repercussions of raids planned and staged by the Cuban refugees will bring patrol actions that will draw American forces into the picture. The shooting at U.S. ships on the high seas is one ramification of this possibility. Increasing measures taken by the Russo-Cubans against the raids will, sooner or later, be directed against Americans, either civilian or military, who may have every right to be where they are, but who will nonetheless feel the brunt of these defense measures by Cuba.

The repercussions of these raids, in other words, will undoubtedly have to be borne by the United States and not by the Cuban exiles at all. It is here where the real danger of them lies. In the end, the confrontation between ourselves and the Soviet Union could build into proportions that would once again threaten us and the world with war.

I do not rule out the possibility that such a confrontation could again occur. But if we are forced into such a situation, it should be on behalf of ourselves and not because we were forced into it by a hotheaded group of guests in our own house.

It is not outside the realm of possibility that such a climax is exactly what the exiles' raids are designed to bring about. One cannot help but wonder what the real objective of the raids may be, when it is so evident that they are completely inconsequential in their military effects.

A final reason why the raids are harmful to American foreign policy interests is the bad precedent they set for other exiles in the hemisphere. So long as these raids have any connotation of American support, approval, or even permission, they encourage exiles from other Caribbean countries to begin the same type of operation in order to return to power.

We know that conditions in Haiti parallel those in Cuba; there are Haitian exiles in the United States, too, who may be encouraged to undertake raids against Haiti. And who is to say but what the change of government in Guatemala may create a faction of exiles seeking to overthrow its new military regime.

The Caribbean is too unstable to permit the United States to become the home base of dissident elements from any of its member countries. If we ever do become such a base, we will become hopelessly entangled in the web of Caribbean politics.